

A N A P O L O G Y

In Behalf of the

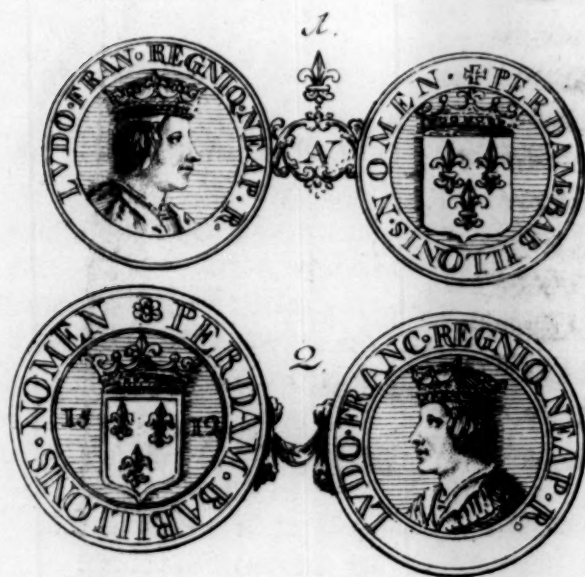
P A P I S T S,

Supposed to be writ by *Roger Palmer,*
Earl of *Castlemain,*

Afterwards Privy Counsellor to *K. James II.*

And Ambassador from him to the Pope,

Reprinted and answered by *WILLIAM LLOYD,*
sometime Bishop of *St. Asaph.*



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A. H. O. F. Y.

P. A. P. I. S. T. E.



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TO THE
AUTHOR
OF THE
APOLOGY.

S I R,

ABOUT fourscore Years ago, in a Time when there were such Apprehensions of the Papists as now there are, (and howsoever they are now, surely then they were not without Cause ^a) some of your Predecessors, to palliate the Matter, and to make their Governors more secure of them, writ a Book to this Effect, That Catholics are to employ *no other Arms against their Prince but the Arms of Christians, viz. Tears, and spiritual Means, daily Prayers, and Watchings and Fastings.* So you begin,

My Lords and Gentlemen, the Arms which Christians can use against lawful Powers in their Severity, are only Prayers and Tears.

^a Vide *Camdeni Annales*, Anno 1586, concerning *Babington's Conspiracy*.

A

We

We cannot say that You writ your Book for the same End as They did: But we do not like it, that you jump so together in the same Beginning.

Now, since Nothing can equal the Infinity of those we have shed, but the Cause, viz. to see our dearest Friends forsake us, we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wiped our Eyes) we sigh out our Complaints to you.

Of the Cause of your Tears, we shall say more anon. Of the Quantity of them, you say very extravagantly, *Nothing can equal the Infinity of those we have shed.* For you might have excepted those of the Protestants in Queen Mary's Days, or of them that suffered in the late Irish Rebellion. You ought to have excepted the Tears of your fabulous Purgatory: and yet those are said to be short of *Infinity*. But you Jesuits love to be Hyperbolical, whether ranting or whining; as if that Religion, which obliges you to damn all other Christians, had likewise forbidden you to speak like other Men.

We had spoke much sooner, had we not been silent through Consternation, to see you inflamed (whom with Reverence we honour) and also to shew our submissive Patience, which used no Sights nor Tricks to divert the Debates of Parliament: for nobody can imagine, where so many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concerned, but something might have been done; when, as in all Ages, we see things

things of publick Advantage, by the Managers Dexterity nipt in the Bud, even in the very Houses themselves. Far be it from Catholics to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Privileges, and all ancient Laws: Nay Magna Charta itself had its Rise from us, which we do the less boast of, since it was not at first obtain'd in so submissive and humble a Manner.

In the same Roman Style you commend your own Silence and Patience. You boast that you have been the Founders of the Parliament's Privileges, and all ancient Laws. Of the first, let every Man believe as he sees Cause. But the second we cannot allow, in either Sense, whether you mean it of yourselves, or of your Predecessors.

For as now in your Church, Men are of two Sorts, even so they were heretofore in this Realm. There were some that wholly minded the common Interests of Christian Religion and Civil Government: Others were *Papalini*, Asserters and Promoters of the Pope's Usurpations. They which acted in those first Capacities were not more your Predecessors than Ours: They which acted in the other were truly and only Yours.

We sung our Nunc Dimittis, when we saw our Master in his Throne, and you in your deserved Authority and Rule.

'Tis very well: And yet ^b some of you sung your *Venite Exultemus*, when you saw his blef-

^b Answer to *Philanax*, p. 85.

fed Father upon the Scaffold. But what of that? since the Son is King, who is not glad ^c that he is King? or whom would it not grieve to have *his Loyalty called in Question?*

Nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, but to have our Loyalty called into Question by you, even at the Instigation of our greatest Adversaries.

If we must suffer, let it be by you alone; for that's a double Death to Men of Honour, to have their Enemies not only Accusers, but for their insulting Judges also.

Sir, he that is *Loyal*, and a *Man of Honour*, has no Cause to fear *Death double*, or single. For our Kings have always declared, ^d that they put no Man to Death for Religion. Therefore if you *truly* fear Death, it is for Treason: If you only *pretend* this, it is a Calumny. Either Way you are no Friend to the Government, for all your Pretences to *Honour* and *Loyalty*.

These are they that, by beginning with us, murdered their Prince, and wounded you: And shall the same Method continue by your Approbation?

We are sure you mean well, though their Design be wicked: but never let it be recorded in Story, that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joining with them that have been the Cause of so great Calamity to the Nation.

^c So Argyle said, *Let them take all, since my Lord the King is come Home in Peace.* ^d K. James's Premonition, p. 336, of his Works.

How far it is true, that the *King's Murthe-
rers began with you*, we shall consider anon. But
it seems you take the Liberty of bestowing that
Character upon whom you please; that no Man
hereafter may dare move for the Execution of
any Law against you, for fear of being said to
continue the Method of the King's Murtherers.

As for any *Vows* that we have made to you,
whatsoever they are, you are more sure of them
than we can be of any that you make to us, for
we have no Pope to dispense with them: Nei-
ther is it *recorded in Story* ^c, that English Pro-
testants ever *joined with* the Enemies of their
Nation.

*Of all Calumnies against Catholics, we have
admired at none so much, as that their Prin-
ciples are said to be inconsistent with Go-
vernment, and they themselves thought even
prone to Rebellion.*

'Tis a Calumny of yours to call those Things
Calumnies which are True, and which you can-
not deny, without such a Presumption, as we
should much admire in you if it were not so ve-
ry ordinary. Concerning your *Principles*, where
should we look for them, but in your Councils,
your Decretals, and the Books of your Divines?
In each of these we are taught, that the Pope
has a Power to depose Kings, and to discharge
Subjects from their Allegiance: which Doc-
trines are utterly *inconsistent with Government*;
for whosoever believes them, no Prince can be

^c See *inf.* K. Charles's Testimony in his Letter to the Prince.
secure

secure of him. But whosoever is a Papist, is bound to believe them: and he that has imbib'd this Faith, may well be *thought ever prone to Rebellion.*

The Council of *Lateran* ^f, under Pope *Innocent* III, expressly ordains, that in Case any Prince be a Favourer of Heretics, after Admonition given, *the Pope shall discharge his Subjects from their Allegiance, and shall give away his Kingdom to some Catholic, that may root out those Heretics, and possess his Kingdom without Contradiction.* 'Tis observable, that this Pope was himself a Deposer of Kings, namely, of *John*, King of *England*, and of *Otho* IV, the Emperor; and also that this Council, which made Rebellion a Duty, was the first that made Transubstantiation an Article of Faith.

Next for the Bulls and Decrees of your Popes, which according to *Bellarmin* ^g, are sufficient to *make that to be Sin, which is not Sin, or not to be Sin, which is Sin*: It would be tedious to instance in all that could be produced to this Purpose.

From *Gregory* VII downward, such a Trade was driven, of deposing Kings, that no weak Prince could wear his Crown, but at the Pope's Courtesy. And that it might never be otherwise, Pope *Boniface* VIII, declares it for Law in these Words: *We say, and define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely necessary to Salvation, for every human Creature to be subject to the Bishop of*

^f *Conc. Lateran. IV. c. 3.* ^g *Bellarmin. in Barclaium, c. 31.*

Rome^h. Which Oracle is thus interpreted by *Bertrand*; every human ⁱ Creature, *i. e.* every Magistrate must be subject, *etc. i. e.* must submit himself to be deposed when the Pope thinks fit. And that the Gloss doth not injure the Text, it appears by the Tenor of the Decree, especially by those Words about the Middle of it, that *the spiritual Power is to order the worldly Power, and to judge it if it be not as it ought; according to that in Jeremy^k, I have set thee over Nations and over Kingdoms, etc.* In which suppletive, *etc.* these Words are wound up; *To root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* All which Powers this Lawgiver of yours endeavoured himself to exercise. *He endeavoured, saith Platina, to give and take away Kingdoms, to expel Men, and to restore them at his Pleasure^l.*

Agreeably to this Doctrine and Practice your great Canonist *Lancelottus* teaches you, *That the Pope may depose Kings and Emperors, and transfer their Kingdoms and Empires from one Line to another^m.* Which wholesome Doctrine, no doubt, as well as the rest of his Bookⁿ, Pope *Pius IV.* has made Authentic by his unerring Approbation.

Lastly for your Divines, They have generally own'd it; and many of them have writ-

^h *Extrav. de Majoritate et Obed. cap. 1. unam Sanctam*
ⁱ *1 Pet. ii. 13. πάση ἀνθρώπινῃ κτίσει.* Vulg. Lat. *Omni Humanae Creaturae.* ^k *Jer. i. 10.* ^l *Plat. in vit. Innoc. III.* ^m *Lanc. in Templo omn. Judic. l. ii. c. 1. § 4.*
ⁿ *Ib. in Praef.*

ten large Books in Defence of it. We do not tell you this as News, for you Clergymen know it already; but that your Laity may not be ignorant of it, we shall quote them some few of the greatest Doctors of your Church in this Age. And we shall leave it upon you to shew them, when and where they were condemned, what Justice has been executed on the Persons, what *Index Expurgatorius* has censur'd the Writings of these Authors. Nay, if you deal honestly, you cannot but confess, that their Works are generally approved, and that their Persons are had in Admiration among you that are the Guides of the Laymens Consciences.

We pass over the gross things of *Mariana's* Book; because they which once licens'd it for love of the Doctrine, have since condemned it, for fear of their King's heavy Displeasure.

But pray, Sir, who condemned your Cardinals, *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*? who teach you that the Pope may do with any King, as *Jehoiada* did with *Athalia*; that is, he may deprive him first of his Kingdom, and then of his Lifeⁿ. *Bellarmin* indeed elsewhere expresses it more like a Jesuite, and a Man of Distinctions, in these Words: *The Pope does not allow you not to obey your King, but he makes him that was your King to be not your King*^o; as who should say, when the Pope has done his Part, then you are free to do yours.

Again, who condemn'd your great School-

ⁿ *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. v. c. 8. *Baron.* Anno 800. §110.

• *Bell. in Barclaium*, c. 3.

men, *Suarez* and *Valentia* ? of whom the one writes against his Majesty's Grandfather, that a King, canonically excommunicated, *may be deposed or killed by any Man whatsoever*: the other says, that an Heretical Prince may, by the Pope's Sentence, be *deprived of his Life, much more of his Estate, and of all Superiority over others* ¹.

Nay, who has condemned our Countryman *Parsons*, or *Cresswel* ? (for the High-fliers of Popery have been those of our own Nation;) by whom this is laid down as a *Conclusion of the whole School of Divines and Canonists*, and declar'd to be *Certain, and of Faith*; that any Christian Prince whatsoever, that shall manifestly swerve from the Catholick Religion, and endeavour to draw off others, does immediately fall from all Power and Dignity, etc. and that even before any Sentence of the Pope is pronounced against him; and that all his Subjects whatsoever are free from all Obligation of any Oath of Obedience, which they have made to him as their lawful Prince; and that they may and ought (if they be strong enough) to eject such a one from the Government of Christians, as an Apostate, an Heretic, a Deserter of Christ, and an Enemy of his Commonwealth, etc..

Cardinal Perron went not altogether so high; but yet he held to the Roman Catholick Principle, that *Kings may be deposed by the Popes when he sees Cause*. He seemed to be of another Opinion while *Henry IV.* was alive: but when he was dead, and a Child was in the

¹ *Suar. Reg. M. B. l. vi. c. 4. § 20.* ² *Greg. de Val. Tom. 3. disp. in Thomam, dis. 1. q. 12. p. 2.* ³ *Philopater, p. 149.*

Throne, then he ventur'd to declare this publicly in his Oration^s on behalf of the whole Clergy of *France*^t. He maintained, that this was the current Doctrine in *France*, till the Time of *Calvin*; and for the contrary Doctrine, viz. *That Kings are not deposeable by the Pope*, *Rossæus*^u calls it the *Paradox of the Lutherans*; *Perron* calls it a *Doctrine that breeds Schisms, a Gate that leads into all Heresy, and to be held in so high a Degree of Detestation, that, rather than yield to it, he and his Fellow Bishops would chuse to burn at a Stake.*

But how has this Doctrine taken among the Papists in our King's Dominions? It has not taken with some of them: either because you have not thought it seasonable for you to instruct them in it; for Doctrines of this sort are then only proper to be inculcated when they may do Execution; or else because your Instruction has been over-rul'd by some better Principle; as we doubt not there have always been some of your Church, in whose generous Breasts the *Englishman* has been too strong for the *Papist*. But yet this Doctrine has taken with others: and many of them have practis'd according to it, as we shall shew you hereafter; and many more would have been practising, if there had not been something to hinder them or deter them. For 'tis allow'd by your Divines, as a very good Reason for Catholics to omit the Duty of Rebellion, *if they are not strong enough to go through with it.* So *Bannez* excuses our

^s *Jan. 15. 1615.*

^t Note, that the Pope sent him thanks for it; and King *James* writ, in Answer to it, that solid *Defence of the Right of Kings.*

^u *Ross. p. 85.*

English Catholics, and so Bellarmin ^x does the Primitive Christians. Nay your ^y Casuists say, if there be any notable Danger of Death or Ruin, without which you cannot perform it, that then you are not bound to endeavour it. Long may these good Reasons continue; for if these were remov'd, we know not how far we might trust you. For one of your Brethren, another Poisoner of the People, has been so forward already, since his Majesty's Restauration, as to declare in Print, that in case your Pope should take upon him to deprive our King, he would not meddle between them. I leave that Question, saith he ^z, to be decided by the two Supreme Powers, the Pope and the King, when occasion shall be for it.

My Lords and Gentlemen, had this been a new Set not known before, something perchance might have been doubted; but to lay this at their Doors that have governed the civilized World, is the Miracle of Miracles to us.

Sir, we know not how to cure your Wonder, but by shewing you 'tis unreasonable. For you call it a *Miracle*, that Men judge according to good Evidence. Who doubts less of the Dangerousness of your Principles and Practices, than they that have read most, and had most Experience of them? We can give you no greater Instance, than in King *James*, of blessed Memory, who was no Stranger to you either way, and this is his Judgment of you: *That as*

^x *Bell. de Rom. Pont. l. v. c. 7.* ^y *Watson's Quodlibets, p. 255, and 295, etc. out of Bannez, Valentia, and Parsons.* ^z The Exhortation in the Afternoon, p. 22.

on the one Part, many honest Men, seduced with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects ; so on the other Part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole Grounds and School Conclusions of their Doctrines, can ever prove either good Christians or good Subjects^a.

But pray, Sir, when was it that you govern'd the civiliz'd World? For the Eastern and Southern Churches never own'd your Government, nor yet the Western, while Learning flourish'd: But when Barbarity had over-run it, then Popery grew up by Degrees, and made it more barbarous both in Ignorance and in Cruelty. Then came in those Doctrines of Transubstantiation, etc. Then came in those Papal Usurpations, etc. which the World, being again civiliz'd, hath partly thrown off, and partly reduced into more tolerable Terms,

Did Richard the First, or Edward Longshanks, suspect his Catholics that served in Palestine, and made our Country's Fame big in the Chronicle of all Ages? or did they mistrust (in their dangerous Absence) their Subjects at Home, because they were of the same Profession? Could Edward the Third imagine those to be traiterous in their Doctrine, that had that Care and Duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of Death in the highest Degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? Be pleased that Henry the Fifth be remembered also, who did those Wonders, of which the whole World does yet resound;

** Vide his Speech in Parliament, p. 504. of his Works.
and*

and certainly all History will agree in this, that it was Oldcastle he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of Rome to be Head of the Church.

The Reigns of those Kings whom you speak of were in those dark Times, when all Goodness declin'd, and Corruptions were daily growing upon us. *Richard* the First^b, being told he had three wicked Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Leachery, said he could not match them better than among your Templars, Fathers, and Friars. *Edward* the First outlaw'd the whole Clergy of this Realm, for refusing to pay the King any Taxes, because the Pope had forbidden them to do it^c. And both those other Princes whom you mention, made Laws against his Usurpations. *Edward* the Third made a notable one of this Kind, by Advice of that very Parliament, in which he enacted his *Laws against Treason*^d. And certainly, *Henry* the Second was more vex'd with *Becket*, than ever *Henry* V. feared *Oldcastle*. We doubt not, those Kings had many good Subjects, and our King hath some better than you seem to be. But they differed not in Religion, as you do from ours: And yet then your Faction was always encroaching where it was suffered, and dangerous where it was opposed.

Did not your Pope force King *John* to do him Homage for *England*? Did he not wrestle with *Edward* I.^e for the Sovereignty of *Scotland*? Hath he not often laid Claim to the

^b *Daniel's Hist. Ric. I. in fin.* ^c *Walsingham, Edw. I. 1298.* ^d 25 E. III, *Vide Statute of Provisors.* ^e *Mat. West. 1301.*

Kingdom of Ireland? If the old Gentleman in a Pet should go to turn out his Tenant. what would our King have left when these are disposed of?

We will no longer trouble you with putting you in mind of any more of our mighty Kings, who have been feared abroad, and as safe at home as any since the Reformation of Religion. We shall only add this, that, if Popery be the enslaving of Princes, France still believes itself as absolute as Denmark or Sweden.

The French King will believe what he pleases, but not all that you say of him. For he cannot but know, that the Pope gave away that Kingdom from some of his Predecessors; and maintained War in it against his Grandfather, till he brought him to his Terms. And why hath not his Holiness dealt so with him that now is? Partly for the Sake of his Religion; but chiefly for fear of a Storm, lest his Coin should do that, which *Lewis* the Twelfth's only threatened in the Inscription of it, *PERDAM BABILLONIS NOMEN* &c.

§ Thu. Hist. l. i.

[See in the Title Page two Coins with this remarkable Menace from *Isai. xiv. 22.* N^o 1. as copied by *Paulus Petavius*, and by *Hardouin* in the *Journ. des Sçav. Jan. 1707.* N^o 2. as represented by *Luckius* in 1620. *Hottomannus*, *Budeus* and *Thuanus*, mention some such Coin, and apply it to the Quarrel between *Louis XII.* and Pope *Julius II.* but describe it with such Variations, as leave Room to question whether any of them ever saw it. The World however acquiesced in their Interpretation, till *Hardouin* seemed to have overthrown it, by observing, That *Lewis* was possessed of *Naples* no longer than from 1501 to 1503. That a Coin therefore in which he is styled King of

Nor will ever the House of Austria abjure the Pope, to secure themselves of the Fidelity of their Subjects.

of *Naples* could not relate to the Quarrel between him and the Pope, which did not commence till 1509 or 1510, some Years after he was dispossessed of that Kingdom. That by virtue of being King of *Naples*, he had the Title of King of *Jerusalem* also: That by *Babillon* therefore is meant *Grand Cairo*, the Residence of the Sultan of *Egypt*, who was at that Time possessed of the Holy Land.

Hardouin's Solution generally prevailed in its Turn, till a Dissertation appeared in Mr. *Buckley's* Edition of *Thuanus* in Confutation of it. *Luckius's* Coin is there produced, bearing Date 1512, which agrees with the Time, when the War between *Lewis* and the Pope was at the Height. And tho' *Lewis* was not then possessed of *Naples*, he long after styled himself King of it. In a Treaty of 1505. it was stipulated, That *Ferdinand* should marry a Sister of *Lewis*, who was to quit to him his Title to *Naples*, on Condition, that, if *Ferdinand* should die before his Wife without Children, it should revert to *Louis*. *Ferdinand* was no sooner married, than he claimed *Naples* by hereditary Right from *Alphonso I.* not as a Dowry by his Wife; and to support his Claim, received Investiture of it from the Pope in 1510. *Lewis* immediately resumed his Title to *Naples*, till in a new Treaty 1513. he gave it up again to *Ferdinand*; having before, not without Reason, expressed in this Coin his Resentment against the Pope. It is confessed however, that this Coin of 1512. is not to be found in the Cabinets of the Curious: It is farther therefore urged, That the Holy Land was not, from the Time of *Corradinus* Son of *Sephadinus*, subject to the Sultan of *Egypt*, but to the Sultan of *Damascus*, then the Capital of *Syria*: Which Circumstance alone seems to be decisive against *F. Hardouin's* Opinion.

And yet, if we may credit our Countryman Sir *John Maundeville*, who died 1371. concerning a Place where he saies he dwelled a great while, and which he ought right well to know, in his Time there was but one Sultan, that of *Egypt*, to whom *Damascus*, and the Holy Land, was likewise subject. It is certain, that Sultan is the only one mentioned by *Vertot* in his History of the Knights of *Malta*, as defending the Holy Land, during this Period, against the Christians. And two Letters are cited by *John le Maire*,
between

For the *Austrian* Princes that are so link'd to the *Pope*, and whose *Subjects* are all *Papists*; you suggest a mad Way to *secure* themselves by firing their Country about their Ears^h.

But what is this to *England*? where *since the Exclusion* of that Trash, which you call *the Catholick Faith*, the King and the greatest part of his People are no *Papists*, and have had so much Trouble and Danger for it from them that are. May not Reason and Experience teach us to fear, that, having to do with the same kind of Adversaries, we may still have some troublesome and dangerous Enemies?

No, we have none to fear but ourselves, if we may believe you. For say you,

We shall always acknowledge to the whole World, that there have been as many brave English in this last Century, as in any other Place whatsoever: yet, since the Exclusion of the Catholick Faith, there hath been that committed by those who would fain be called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist at no Time dreamt of.

Pray, Sir, what may *that* be? For you have murdered Kings, and them of your own Religion, four or five in this Realm since the Con- between *Lewis XII.* and the Sultan of *Egypt*, relating to the Holy Land; which, because not address'd to the Sultan of *Damascus*, Mr. *Buckley's* Author rejects. I doubt whether for sufficient Reason. The Probabilities lie against *F. Hardouin's* Opinion; but I leave it to others, of more Leisure and Opportunity, to determine whether they amount to historical Certainty.]

^h The Spaniard holds the Kingdoms of *Navarre*, and of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, only by the *Pope's* Gift; by which he should have *Ireland* too, and *England*, but that the right Heir keeps them from him.

quest

quest (not to speak of those Numbers else-where.) But that was in the growing Age of Popery. In latter Times, have you so soon forgot our King's Grandfather *Henry IV.* murdered by *Ravilliac*, or his Predecessor *Henry III.* murdered by Friar *Clement*? and the People you have kill'd up by whole Families and Townships. Witness *England, Ireland, France, Piedmont*, which you may hear of elsewhere. These things have been done by Papists broad-awake; and what must *that* be which the wickedest of them never dreamt of?

'Twas never heard of before that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and those styled her Peers; or that a King was publicly tried and executed by his own People and Servants.

First you tell us of the Queen of Scots being put to Death in Queen *Elizabeth's* Reignⁱ. It was by the same Colour of Right, we suppose, that *Wallis* suffered in *Edward the First's* Reign, namely, of that Sovereignty that our Princes challenged over *Scotland*. But *Edward I.* was erewhile a laudable *Papist*; and Queen *Elizabeth*, for all this, might be a very good *Protestant*. Sure we are, that King *James* and King *Charles*, who were nearest concerned in this Matter, never imputed the Fault of it to her Religion.

Your other Instance is, of that most execrable Murder, committed on the best of Kings, by his own Subjects, and by such as you say, *would fain be called Protestants*. Sir, we *would fain be called* Christians; and Members of the

ⁱ *Walsingham, Hist. Edw. I. 1306.*

Catholick Church : Would you take it well of a Turk, that should therefore charge our Faults upon you ? but you do worse than a Turk, in charging these Mens Faults upon us. They were neither then nor since of our Communion, but that blessed Prince was, whom they murder'd. He declared upon the Scaffold, *I dye a Christian, according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father.* He charged the Princess *Elizabeth, not to grieve, and torment herself for him ; for that would be a glorious Death which he should dye, it being for the Laws and Liberties of this Land, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion.* He died with some Care not to leave you this Advantage by his Death ; as it appears by these Words of his last Letter to his Majesty that now is. ^k *The Scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in England, is easily answered to them or your own Thoughts in this, That scarce any one who hath been a Beginner or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practicer of the Protestant Religion established in England ; which neither gives such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.*

My Lords and Gentlemen, we know who were the Authors of this last Abomination, and how generously you strove against the raging Torrent ; nor have we any other Ends to remember you of it, but to shew that all Religions may have a corrupted Spawn ;

^k Letter to the Prince.

and

and that God hath been pleased to permit such a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never saw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may be prosper) that Popery is not the only Source of Treason.

But do you indeed know who were the Authors of this last Abomination? Pray, Sir, be plain with us, for in these doubtful Words, there seems to be more Truth than every Man is aware of. The Rebellion that led to it began, we know, in *Scotland*, where the Design of it was first laid by ¹ Cardinal *Richelieu*, his Majesty's^m irreconcilable Enemy. Then it broke out in *Ireland*, where it was blest'd with his Holiness's Letters, and assisted by his Nuntio, whom he sent purposely to attend the Fire there. Lastly, here in *England*, you did your Parts to unsettle the People, and gave them needless Occasions of Jealousy, which the vigilant Fanaticks made use of, to bring us all into War and Confusion.

Both in *England* and *Scotland*, the special Tools that they wrought with, were borrowed out of your Shops.

It was his Majesty's own Observation (by which you may guess whose Spawn they were.)ⁿ *Their Maxims, saith he, were the same with the Jesuits; their Preachers Sermons were delivered in the very Phrase of Becanus, Scioppius, and Eudæmon Johannes; their poor Arguments, which they delivered in their seditious Pamphlets printed or written, were taken almost verbatim out of Bellarmin and Suarez.*

¹ V. L'Estrange, 1639. in *Habernfield's Relation*.

^m Answer to the Reasons for no Address.

ⁿ Large Declaration concerning the Tumults in *Scotland*,

In *Ireland*, where you durst do it, you employ'd Iron and Steel against him; with which you might as well have preserved him, if you had pleased; but you *denied* to do that, (as he tells us) ° *only upon account of Religion*. Then followed the accursed Fact itself, agreed to in the Councils of your ^P Clergy, contriv'd and executed by the Fanaticks. In vain did the poor Royalist *strive against it*, for what could he do, when two such Streams met against him; of which the deepest was that which came from *Rome*? where the false Fisherman open'd all his Flood-gates, to overwhelm us with those Troubles, which, for the Advantage of his Trade, he had often before endeavour'd, but could never prevail, till now, to send them pouring in upon us.

Little did we think, (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a Blessing on the King's Affairs) ever to see that Day, in which Carlos, Gifford, Whitgrave, and the Pendrels^q, should be punished, by your Desires, for that Religion which obliged them to save their forlorn Prince; and a stigmatized Man (for his Offences against King and Church) a chief Promoter of it.

Nay, less did we imagine, that by your Votes Huddleston might be hang'd, who again secured our Sovereign; and others free in their fast Possessions that sate as Judges, and sealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory.

° Answer to the Reasons for the Votes of no Addrefs.

^P Answer to *Philanax*, p. 59. [^q These, as likewise *Huddleston*, a *Benedictine* Monk, conceal'd the King after the Battle of *Worcester*. By the *stigmatized Man*, I suppose, is meant the Earl of *Manchester*, who had been a great Offender, but was early instrumental in the Restoration.]

That

That many Gentlemen of your Church were not of your Party, we do willingly acknowledge ; and that some of them, in that critical Day of Danger, did the King very eminent Service. But so did Protestants too ; therefore you cannot ascribe this to your *Religion*. Nor does it seem reasonable, that to requite particular Persons for their Service, we should abandon those Laws which may secure the Publick against as great a Danger.

To question his Life that had freely exposed it for our Sovereign's, were too great a Barbarity for any Christians but of your Sect, or any Age but Queen *Mary's* Days¹ ; for then Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was indeed so dealt with ; but we do not more detest those Times than such Examples. And we know that his Majesty, without any Trespas on his Laws, may protect and reward those Persons whom he judgeth deserving it ; as well as his Royal Predecessors did, in whose Reigns the penal Laws were made.

Pray be you as favourable to the *stigmatized Man*, (whom sure you are not angry with for his Offences against King and Church, whatsoever you say ;) and if he be now a *Promoter* of any thing that displeaseth you, bear with him, as his Majesty doth ; for whom he lately did his utmost against Fanaticks toward the bringing of him in : and he would not willingly live to see the Pope turn him out again.

For the Regicides, be as severe with them as you please ; only beware how you tax his Majesty's Mercy, for fear you may have need of it.

We confess we are unfortunate, and you just Judges, whom with our Lives we will ever maintain to be so; nor are we ignorant the Necessity of Affairs made both the King and you do things, which formerly you could not so much as fancy. Yet give us leave to say we are still loyal; nay, to desire you to believe so, and to remember how synonymous (under the late Rebellion) was the Word Papist and Cavalier; for there was never no Papist that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not called a Papist, or at least judged to be Popishly affected.

Your fawning upon the Parliament, and commending of yourselves, we pass over as Things of course. And we equally believe you now, as you did the Fanaticks heretofore, when they called us *Papists*; or as we did you e'rewhile, when you called them *Protestants*. For pray, Sir, what did they to be called *Protestants*? or what did *we* to be judged *Popishly affected*? And if all *Papists*, as you say, were deemed *Cavaliers*; we hope some of them have had the Grace to be ashamed of it. In *Ireland* there were whole Armies of *Irish* and *English*, that fought against his Majesty, solely upon the Account of your Religion. In *England*, it is true, some came in voluntarily to assist him; but many more of you were ^r *hunted into his Garrisons*, by them that knew you would bring him little Help and much Hatred. And of those that fought for him, as long as his Fortune stood; when that once declined, a great part, even of them, fell from him. From

^r Second Moderator, p. 43.

that

that Time forward, you that were, *always, all, deemed Cavaliers*, where were you? In all those weak Efforts ^t of gasping Loyalty, what did you? You complied, and flattered, and gave sugar'd Words, to the Rebels then, as you do to the Royalists now. You address'd your Petitions ^t to the *supream Authority of this Nation, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*. You affirmed ^u that *you had generally taken, and punctually kept the Engagement*. You promised, that if you might but enjoy your Religion^x, *you would be the most quiet and useful Subjects of England*. You prov'd it in these Words: ^y *The Papists of England would be bound by their own Interest (the strongest Obligation amongst wise men) to live peaceably and thankfully in the private Exercise of their Consciences; and becoming Gainers by such Compassions, they could not so reasonably be distrusted, as the Prelatick Party that were Losers*. You prov'd it more amply by real Testimonies; which we have no Pleasure in remembering, and you would have less in hearing of them. These things were too lately done to be talk-ed of.

If after all this said and done for your own Vindication, you were still *deemed Cavaliers*, the more was your wrong. But who could help it? all the Right we can do you, is, no to believe it.

We know, though we differ something in Religion (the Truth of which let the last Day

^t 1647, 1656, 1659. ^t First Moderator, p. 59.

^u Second Moderator, p. 41. ^v Answer to *Philanax*, p. 63. of *Father Bret*. ^x First Moderator, p. 31.

^y First Moderator, p. 36.

judge) yet none can agree with your Inclinations, or are fitter for your Converse than we; for as we have as much Birth among us as England can boast of, so our Breeding leans your Way both in Court and Camp; and therefore, had not our late Sufferings united us in that firm Tye, yet our like Humours must needs have joined our Hearts.

If we err, pity our Condition, and remember what your great Ancestors were, and make some Difference between us (that have twice converted England from Paganism) and those other Sects that can challenge nothing but Intrusion for their imposed Authority.

As for Religion, we agree with you in all that is truly Catholic: We differ from you only in not admitting your Innovations. And whether justly, we say also, *Let the last Day judge*. Your Converse, Breeding, etc. we heartily respect as far as 'tis English. But we suspect every thing that leans towards a foreign Jurisdiction. And we would be loth, by our Kindness to those things wherein we agree with you, to be drawn into the Danger of those Things in which we differ from you.

By that Flam of your having twice converted England from Paganism, sure you mean, that we in this Land have been twice converted, by Persons sent to us from Rome. Which you will never persuade any one to believe, that dares trust himself to taste of Church History, without one of your Fathers chewing it for him. But supposing this to be true, pray, what would you infer from it? That because we received Good from the Primitive Christians of that Place, therefore, we should lay ourselves open,

to receive any Evil that may happen to us from their degenerous Successors.

But 'tis generally said, that Papists cannot live without persecuting all other Religions within their Reach.

We confess, where the Name of Protestant is unknown, the Catholic Magistrates (believing it erroneous) do use all Care to keep it out: Yet in those Countries where Liberty is given, they have far more Privileges than we, under any reformed Government whatsoever. To be short, we will only instance France for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Profelytes they please, and where it's not against Law to be in any Charge or Employment. Now Holland (which permits every thing) gives us, 'tis true, our Lives and Estates, but takes away all Trust in Rule, and leaves us also in Danger of the Scout, whensoever he pleaseth to disturb our Meetings.

What is generally said of the Popish Persecutions, is also generally believed. But, Sir, you answer it deceitfully. For you tell us of the Manner; first, of those Countries *where the Name of Protestant is unknown*: and next, of those Countries *where Liberty is given*: But you slip over a third Sort, namely, of those where the *Name of Protestant* is well known, and yet no *Liberty is given*. Pray, what *Liberty* have the Protestants in *Flanders*? We are told they have none: and yet the *Name* of them is very well known there. The like may be said of divers other Countries. Nay, in *England*, while it was yours, did you give any *Liberty* at all? Yet

the Name of Protestant was very well known here, and was sufficient for the burning of any one that was known by it. But you say you *will only instance France for all*. Very wisely resolved, for it would not have been for your Credit to *instance* any other. In *France* then, whatsoever *Liberty* the Protestants enjoy, it is by Virtue of their Edicts; which how they were obtained, we shall have Occasion to mind^a you; and how they are observed, let the poor *Hugonots* tell you. But if they were observed to the full, should we therefore grant you that liberty which is *against Law*, because they are allowed that which you say is *not against Law*?

In *Holland*, the Papists may have some Reason to complain, if their Masters allow them no more *Liberty* than you speak of. For it was chiefly by their Hands, that the *Spanish* Yoak was thrown off: which, on the contrary, our Papists were so fond of, that, for divers Years together, we had much ado to keep them from pulling it upon our Necks.

Because we have named France, the Massacre will perchance be urged against us: But the World must know that was a Cabinet Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholic Writers there, and of other Countries also: besides, it cannot be thought they were murdered for being Protestants, since 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them into that ill-machinated Destruction.

The French Massacre, which you next speak of, was a thing of *so horrid a Cruelty, that, as*

^a K. James's Defence of the Right of Kings, p. 479, 480:
Thuanus

Thuanus^b tells us, *considering Men, having turned over the Annals of the Nations, could find no Example of the like in all Antiquity*^c. It was cloaked over with Shews of the greatest Amity in the World; namely, of a Marriage between the Houses of *Valois* and *Bourbon*; to which all the Chiefs of the Protestants were most lovingly invited. There, after the Jollity of Mirth, and Caresses of Entertainment, in the dead Time of the Night, the whole City was in Arms about them; they fell upon all the Protestants Houses and Lodgings; they butchered them without Distinction, Men, Women, and Children, till the Channels ran down with Blood into the River: And scarce a Protestant was left alive, except the^d *Bridegroom*, and the Prince of *Conde*; who turned Papists to escape their Hands, and yet they could not escape them, the one being poisoned, and the other stabb'd by Men of your Religion. This hellish Stratagem, you say, was *condemned as wicked by Catholic Writers*. It was likewise extoll'd as glorious by *Catholic Writers*. But, pray, Sir, what think you of it? you are bashful in Company, but one may guess at your Meaning. First you say it was a *Cabinet Plot*, a fine soft Word, for the^e butchering of 30000 Persons. Next, in Answer to them that call it *Murder*, you seem to blame it, as a Thing done by Halves; for what else can you mean, by calling it an *ill-machinated Destruction*? Lastly, whatsoever it was, that which drew it upon them, you say, was *their Rebellion* (let their Faith have been what it would.)

^b *Thu. Hist.* 1. liii. ^c *Thu. Hist.* 1. lii. ^d *Guignard*, in his Oration said, *It was a great Error that they had not cut the Basilic Vein.* ^e *Id.* 1. liii.

Nay, Sir, it was their Faith (let their Obedience have been what it would.) For neither had that King better Subjects than those which were massacred; nor had his Successor erranter Rebels than those that did massacre them. Brave *Coligni* was the first murdered; and his Head was sent to *Rome*, while his Body, (according to his own ominous ^f Wish) was mangled and dragged about the Streets of *Paris*. The Duke of *Guise* was chief of the Murderers; whose *factious Authority*, as you sweetly style it, was as black a Rebellion as ever that Kingdom saw. But to end this Question, whether these Men were massacred for *Protestant Religion*, or for *Rebellion*; let us take Judges between us: for possibly, We may be partial for the one, and You for the other.

First, of *Rebellion*, a King should be the most competent Judge: hear therefore what King *James* saith, who lived in the fresh Memory of those Days. ^g *I could never yet learn, (saith he) by any good and true Intelligence, that in France those of the Religion took Arms against their King. In the first Civil Wars they stood only upon their Guard, they stood only to their lawful Wards, and Locks of Defence. They armed not, nor took the Field, before they were pursued with Fire and Sword, burnt up, and slaughtered. Besides, Religion was neither the Root nor the Rind of those intestine Troubles. The true Ground of the Quarrel was this: During the Minority of King Francis II. the Protestants of*

^f *Tbu. Hist. 1. lii. saith, that being forewarn'd of the Plot, and advised to stand upon his Guard; he wissh'd rather to have his Body drag'd, etc. than to see any more Civil Wars in France.* ^g *Defence of the Right of Kings, in his Works, p. 479, 480.*

France

France were a Refuge and Succour to the Princes of the Blood, when they were kept from the King's Presence, and by the Power of their Enemies were no better than plainly driven and chased from the Court. I mean the Grandfathers of the King now reigning, and of the Prince of Conde, when they had no Place of safe Retreat. In regard of which worthy and honourable Service, it may seem, the French King hath Reason to have the Protestants in his gracious Remembrance. With other Commotion or Insurrection the Protestants are not justly to be charged. Certain it is, that King Henry III, etc. by their good Service, was delivered from a most extream and imminent Peril of his Life, etc. they never abandoned that Henry III, nor Henry IV, in all the Heat of Revolts and Rebellions raised by the Pope, and the more Part of the Clergy; etc.

Then of Religion, since you will allow none but the Pope to be judge, let us hear his Judgment from *Thuanus*^b, who was a Roman Catholic, and a most authentic Historian. He tells us the Pope had an Account of the Massacre from his Legate at *Paris*, that he read his Letter in the Consistory of Cardinals, that there it was decreed that they should go directly to *St. Mark's*, and there solemnly give Thanks to Almighty God for so great a Blessing conferred upon the Roman See, and the Christian World. That soon after a Jubilee should be published through the whole Christian World, and these Causes were express'd for it, To give Thanks to God for destroying in France the Enemies of the Truth, and of the Church, etc. In the Evening the Guns were fired at *St. Angelo*, and Bonfires were made,

^b *Thu. Hist.* 1. liii.

and

and nothing was omitted of all those Things that use to be performed in the *greatest Victories of the Church*. Some Days after there was a Procession to St. *Lewis*, with the greatest Resort of Nobility and People. First went the Bishops and Cardinals, then the *Switzers*, then the Ambassadors of Kings and Princes: then, under a Canopy, went his Holiness himself, with the Emperor's Ambassador bearing up his Train for him, *etc.* Over the Church Door was an Inscription set up, in which the Cardinal of *Lorain*, in the Name of the King of *France*, congratulated his Holiness, and the College of Cardinals, *etc.* for the *plainly stupendous Effects, and altogether incredible Events, of their Counsels given him, and of their Assurances sent him, and of their twelve Years Wishes and Prayers*. Soon after, the Pope sent Cardinal *Ursin*, in his Name, to congratulate the King of *France*, who, in his Journey through the Cities, highly commended the Faith of those Citizens that had to do in the Massacre; and distributed his Holinesses Blessings amongst them. And at *Paris*, being to persuade the Reception of the Council of *Trent*, he endeavoured it with this Argument, That the Memory of *the late Action to be magnified in all Ages, as conducing to the Glory of God, and the Dignity of the Holy Roman Church*, might be, as it were, sealed by the Approbation of the Holy Synod: for that so it would be manifest to all Men that now are, or hereafter shall be, that the King consented to the Destruction of so many Lives, *not out of Hatred or Revenge, or Sense of any Injury of his own, but out of an ardent Desire to propagate the Glory of God*. That, what could not be expected whilst the Faction of Protestants

Protestants stood, now, since they were taken away, the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion, which, by the Synod of *Trent*, is cleared from the Venom of the Sectaries, might be establish'd without Controversy, and without Exception, *through all the Provinces of the French Dominion.*

Well spoken, worthy Head of thy Church, we will take thy Judgment about cutting of Throats at any Time; thou dost not mince the Matter, as this *English* Limb of thee doth: who yet is thus far to be commended, that, since he durst not say of it as he desired, for fear of provoking us, yet he would not call it as it deserv'd, for fear of too much contradicting thee.

May it not be as well said in the next Catholic King's Reign, that the Duke of Guise and Cardinal, Heads of the League, were killed for their Religion also? Now no body is ignorant, but it was their factious Authority which made that jealous Prince design their Deaths, though by unwarrantable Means.

The Duke of *Guise* and his Brother ⁱ were not killed for their Religion; for they were killed by one of the same Religion, and one that was bent against the Protestants as much as they. Only because he spared the Blood of the Protestants, your Zealots hated him; and so much the more, because a Protestant ^k being his Heir, he would not declare him incapable of the Succession. For these Causes, by the Pope's Consent, these *Guises* (whom he called the *Maccabees* ^l of the Church) entered into an *Holy League* against their King; and

ⁱ Henry III. of France. ^k Henry IV. ^l *Ihu. Hist.* l. xci. called

called in the Succours of *Spain* and *Savoy*, which they paid for with the Rights of the Crown; they maintained a sharp War against him, and did all that was in their Power to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life. Whereupon that *jealous Prince* (as you favourably ^m call him) for his own Preservation, was urged to deal with them, as they had dealt with the Protestants; from whose Case, this of the *Guises* is so vastly different, that one would wonder why you should mention it.

But since you have led us thus far out of the Way, let us invite you a little farther. The Pope excommunicated the King for this Action, and granted nine Years of true Indulgence to any of his Subjects that would bear Arms against him; and foretold ⁿ, (as a Pope might do without Astrology) that *e're long he should come to a fearful Death*. The Subjects took Arms, and earned the Indulgence. A Frier took his Knife, and fulfilled the Prediction, by ripping up those Bowels that were always most tenderly affected with Kindness to the Monkish Orders. But what Joy was there at *Rome* for this, as if the News of another Massacre had come to Town! One would think so, by the Pope's Oration ^o to his Cardinals; in which he sets forth this *Work of God* (the King's Murder) for its Wonderfulness to be compared with *Christ's Incarnation* and *Resurrection*. And the Frier's Virtue and Courage, and fervent Love

^m *Rossæus*, one of your Predecessors, calls him a thousand Times worse than *Mahomet*, p. 170. and saith, *From the Beginning of the World, no Nation or State ever endured such a Tyrant*, p. 171. ⁿ *Sixtus V.* quoted his own Prediction in his Oration that follows. ^o Printed at *Paris* 1589, by the Printers of the *Holy League*, and approved by the *Sorbon*.

of

of God, he prefers before that of *Eleazer* in the *Maccabees*, or of *Judith* killing *Holofernes* : and the murdered King (who had profest himself to die in the *Faith of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church*) he delared to have died in the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*. Pray, Sir, may it not well be said, that *Papists cannot live without persecuting Protestants*, when we see a *Popish King* stabb'd and damned for not persecuting them enough, or for doing the *Work of the Lord* negligently ?

If it were for Doctrine that Hugonots suffered in France, this haughty Monarch would soon destroy them now, having neither Force nor Town to resist his Might and Puissance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament, and may convert the King's Brother too ; if he think fit to be so. Thus you see how well Protestants may live in a Popish Country, under a Popish King : nor was Charlemain more Catholic than this ; for though he contends something with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about Gallicane Privileges, which perchance he may very lawfully do.

Judge then, worthy Patriots, who are the best used, and consider our Hardship here in England ; where it is not only a Fine for bearing Mass, but Death to the Master for having a Priest in his House ; and so far we are from Preferment, that by Law we cannot come within ten Miles of London ; all which we know your great Mercy will never permit you to exact.

You say, If this were true, then this haughty Monarch would soon destroy his Hugonots now,

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No

No such Consequence, Sir, for he may persecute them, and not *destroy* them; he may destroy them, but not so *soon*. Princes^p use to go their own Pace, whilst they are upon their Legs; but if any Misfortune throws them upon all four, then the Pope gets up and rides them what pace he pleaseth. Nor is this Monarch yet so *Catholic* as *Charlemain* was; if he were, he would do as *Charlemain* did^q. He would be Patron of all the Bishoprics in his Empire, even of *Rome* itself, if it were there. He would make the Pope himself know the Distance between a Prelate and an Emperor^r. He would maintain the Rights of his Crown; and not chop Logic about *Gallicane Privileges*, which you say, like a sly Jesuit, that *perchance he may lawfully do*. He would call a Council when he pleased, to separate Errors from the *Faith*; as *Charlemain* himself called a Council^s against Image Worship, which was then creeping into the Church. This were a good Way of *destroying* the *Hugonots*, by taking away all Causes of Strife amongst Christians. By any other way than this he cannot destroy them, without the Violation of his Laws: which, as they are the only *Forces and Towns*, whereby Subjects ought to be secured against their King; so, since he is pleased to allow them no other, these Laws, back'd with his Puissance, are Forces enough to secure them against their Fellow Subjects.

We cannot pass this Paragraph, without observing your Jesuitical Ingenuity; how you slight those Favours that you have; how you

^p K. James's Works, p. 483. ^q Canon *Agatho* Dist. 63.
^r *Fauchet* Anno 801. c. 10. that the Pope ador'd him, not he the Pope. ^s Council of *Frankford*, An. 794.

complain

complain of those *Hardships* that you have not; and how you insult over the poor *Hugonots*, by comparing with them, who generally would mend their Condition by changing with you. Pray, Sir, do not Popish Peers sit in our English *Parliaments*^a, as well as Protestants in the *French*? or have you not as free Access to our *King's Brother*, as they have to theirs? or would you have his Highness to catechise, as the Abbot^b had the Duke of *Glocester*? perhaps that you would have. Otherwise we know nothing but his Highness's Wisdom, and Care of his Conscience, that guards him from you.

Of the *Laws* you complain hideously, *Worthy Patriots*, consider our *Hardship*. And yet, those very *Laws* you complain of, you never knew executed in your Life; and you tell us after, that you *know* they never will be.

For what Cause then were they enacted? plainly for this Cause, to guard the Lives of our Princes against your traiterous Practices.

It hath often been urged, that our Misdemeanors in 2. Elizabeth's Days, and King James's Time, was the Cause of our Punishment.

Your *Misdemeanors*! we cry you mercy, if they were no more; but that comes next to be argued, whether they were *Misdemeanors* or Treasons.

We earnestly wish that the Party had more Patience under that Princess. But, pray, consider (though we excuse not their Faults) whether it was not a Question harder than

[^a The Protestants are now excluded from the *French Parl.* by the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz* 1685. The *Popish* Peers from the *English Parl.* by an Act 1701. ^b Henry D. of *Glocester*, Brother of K. Charles II. put under Abbot *Moun- tague* by the Q. Mother. *Clar. hist.* vol. 3. b. 14 p. 425. fol.]

that of York and Lancaster, the Cause of a War of such Length, and Death of so many Princes, Who had most right, Queen Elizabeth or Mary Stuart: for since the whole Kingdom had crowned and sworn Allegiance to Queen Mary, they had owned her Legitimate Daughter to Henry the Eighth; and therefore it was thought necessarily to follow by many, that, if Mary was the true Child, Elizabeth was the natural, which must then needs give way to the thrice noble Queen of Scots.

Under Queen Elizabeth, you wish your Party had *more Patience*; and we think they needed none; for in the first ten Years of her Reign they had no Business for it. In all that Space of Time, which was twice as long as Queen Mary's Reign, though it was fresh in Memory what the Papists had done, yet not one of them suffered Death, till the Northern Rebellion^t: which being raised against her, only upon the Account of her Religion; it appears that she was the persecuted Person, she had the Occasion for *Patience*; and you would have wished them more Loyalty, if any such thing had been in your Thoughts. But perhaps you wish they had so much *Patience*, as not to have discovered their Design before it was fully ripe for Execution. Not unlike. For it appears, you account Rebellion no Fault, by this, that you say, you *excuse not their Faults*, and yet you do excuse their Rebellion.

You excuse them by saying, it was a very *hard Question*, whether the *Right* of the Crown lay in her, or in the *Queen of Scots*; for that

^t *Philopater*, p. 103.

many thought *Queen Elizabeth* illegitimate^t. Pray, Sir, who *thought* it? or when arose that *Question*? The Archbishop of *York*, though a Papist, in his Speech at the publishing of *Queen Mary's* Death, said, *No Man could doubt of the Justness of the Lady Elizabeth's Title to the Succession*. The whole Kingdom received her, and owned her as Queen, more generally and freely than ever they did *Queen Mary*. The Neighbour Kings of *Spain* and *France*, and the Emperor, offered ^v Marriage to her, in hopes to have got the Crown by her. The Queen of *Scots* herself did acknowledge her, and claimed nothing more than to be Heir to her, and so did King *James* that was her Successor. So that whosoever opposed *Queen Elizabeth's* Right, if they were English, 'tis apparent they were Rebels; and if they were Papists, we may guess what led them to it. For the first that questioned her Title was Pope ^x *Paul IV.* who would not acknowledge her for sundry Causes; the chief that he alledged were these: First, because *this Kingdom is a Fee of the Papacy, and it was audaciously done of her to assume it without his Leave*. The second was, because *she was Illegitimate*: for if her Father's Marriage were good, the Pope must let down his Mill. But after all this, his Successor *Pius IV.* ^v did own her, and would have done any thing for her, so she would have owned him. Which because she would not, the next Pope *Pius V.*

^t *Ross*. p. 223. faith of them that were pretended to die for your Religion, *Where was it ever heard that they denied her to have been the lawful Queen?* ^v *Philip II.* and *Henry III.* for themselves, and the Emperor *Maximilian* for his Brother *Charles*.

^x Council of *Trent*, l. v. *An.* 1558.
^y In his Letter by *Parpaglia*, dated 1560. May 3.

issued out his Bull ^z against her, and deposed her; not for Bastardy ^a, but for Heresy; that is, for being a Protestant: for which Heresy it was, that the Northern Men rebelled against her, and many more of her Subjects disowned her; and some or other were every Foot plotting how to take away her Life.

True it is, that some of these pretended to do it in Favour of the *Queen of Scots*. But how if that Queen had not been a Catholic? or Queen *Elizabeth* had not been thought *Illegitimate*? would a legitimate Protestant have been so contended for? or would a Popish Bastard have been rejected by them?

Pope Gregory XIII. had occasion to consider this. For his Holiness had a Bastard ^b of his own to provide for, and another ^c of the Emperor's; no doubt good Catholics both of them. To one he gave the Kingdom of *Ireland*, and set out *Stukely* ^d with Forces to win it for him: To the other he gave the Kingdom of *England*, and gave him leave to win it for himself. But what was all this to the *thrice noble Queen of Scots*? Possibly she might have been preferred to have married one of the two; but then it must have been expressly with this Condition, that her Son *King James* (who was a Heretic) *should have nothing to do with the Succession*.

When their Bubbles were broken, and she was dead, all her *Right* descended to King *James*, who being as little to the Pope's Mind, as Queen *Elizabeth* was, *Sixtus V.* not only took no public Notice of him, but he proceed-

^z Dated 1570. Feb. 25. ^a See the Bull itself; there is not the least mention of Bastardy in it. ^b *James Buoncompagno*. ^c *Don John*. ^d Whom his Holiness had created Marquis of *Lansler*, Earl of *Wexford*, etc. *Thu. Hist.* l. lxiv.

ed with all his Might against her. He curst her afresh, and publish'd a Croisade against her, and gave the whole *Right* of her Kingdoms to *Philip* II. King of *Spain*. But neither that Pope's Bounty, nor his three Successors Blessings, nor the *Spanish* Arms, nor the *Italian* Arts (for no way was left untried) could ever prevail against God's Providence; which, till the End of her Days, kept that Queen always fast in her Possessions.

At last Pope *Clement* VIII. seeing there was nothing to be done against her, resolv'd to let her go like a Heretic as she was; and to take the more care that another Heretic should not succeed her. For which Cause he sent over two Breves into *England*, one to the Clergy, and the other to the Laity, commanding them not to admit any other but a Catholic, though never so *near in Blood* to the Succession^e: that is to say, in plain Words, not to admit King *James* to reign after Queen *Elizabeth's* Death. So 'tis clear, that your Popes never stuck at that *hard Question* that you speak of.

Let us see what our Countrymen did; who, as you say, *suffered for it in those Days*. They did like obsequious Members, at every Turn, as their Head directed them. They acted for the Papal Interest as far as they were able. They made the *House of Scotland* the Cloak for it, as far as it would reach. And it reach'd pretty well, as long as the Title was in Queen *Mary*. But after the Title came to be in King *James*, pray, Sir, name us those Papists, or but one single Person of them, that either did

or suffered for him; and then you bless us with a Discovery.

What then? were they idle for so many Years as past between the commencing of his Title, and the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*? nothing less. For they were as busy as Bees, in contriving how to hasten her Death, and how to put him by the Succession. And if it were for his Service, that they would have destroyed her; pray, for whose Service was it, that they would have defeated him? but that will be known by the Story.

Soon after his Mother's Death was the *Spanish* Invasion, which would have defeated him with a Witness, if it had sped; and yet our Papists both negotiated ^f it, and writ in Defence ^g of it. Afterwards in *Scotland* your Jesuits procured the Earl of *Huntley*^h, and others, to raise a powerful Rebellion against him. In *England* they endeavoured to persuade the Earl of *Derby*ⁱ to set up a Title to the Crown, who honestly revealing it, was poisoned soon after, according to the prophetic Threatening of *Hisket*, whom they had made use of to persuade him.

When these single shots failed, Father *Parsons*^k gave a Broadside to the *Royal House of Scotland*. For he publish'd a Book under the Name of *Doleman*, wherein he set up divers Competitors for the Succession, and consequently so many Enemies to the unquestionable Right of that Family. And to provide one

^f *Camden, Eliz. 1588.* ^g *Cardinal Allen's Admonition. Vide Watson's Quodl. p. 240. and 247.* ^h *Camden, Eliz. Anno 1589. Watson's Quodl. p. 150.* ⁱ *Camden, ib. Anno 1593. Watson, ib. p. 154.* ^k *Camden, ib. Anno 1594. Doleman's Conference about the next Succession to the Crown.*

sure Enemy upon the Place, he found out a Title for the Earl of *Essex*, the most ambitious and popular Man in the Nation, to whom also he craftily dedicated his Book. In which he mentions ^l, among other Books of this Nature, one written by *Lesley* concerning the Queen of *Scot's* Title; another by *Hegbinton* for the King of *Spain's* Title; and another concerning the Prince of *Parma's*; but, for his Part, before these and all others, he prefers the Title of the *Infanta*. And to shew, that he meant as he said ^m, he caused their Scholars in the Seminaries abroad to subscribe to it, and made them swear to maintain it, and bound the Missionaries to promote it in those Places whither they were to be sent. Whereas for King *James's* Title, he prefers several others before it, and tells us ⁿ, *I have not found very many in England that favour it*: meaning sure of your Catholics, with whom his Converse chiefly was, and concerning whom he gives this remarkable Testimony, that ^o *the Catholics make little account of his Title by Nearness of Succession*.

We have reason to believe he did not wrong them, because when an Answer was written to his Book ^p, the Archpriest *Blackwel* would not suffer it to be published. And your next Head-officer, the Provincial of the Jesuits ^q, declared he would have nothing to do with King *James's* Title: and 'twas the common Voice of the Men of his Order, that ^r *if King James*

^l *Doleman*, Part 2. p. 9. ^m *Camden*, ib. 1602. *Watson*, ib. p. 279. ⁿ *Dolem.* ib. p. 109. ^o *ib.* p. 110. ^p *Watson's*, ib. p. 107. ^q *Tortura Torti*, p. 197. ^r *Watson*, ib. p. 150.

would turn Catholic, they would follow him ; but if not, they would all die against him.

Which pious Resolutions were seconded with agreeable Actions. For they endeavoured, as far as Catholics are obliged by their Principles, viz. as far as they durst and were able ; at first, to hinder him from coming in, and afterwards to throw him out again, or to destroy him in the Place, as we shall have occasion to shew you in the Answer to the next Paragraph.

The mean while out of this present Discourse, in which you cannot deny any thing that is material to our Purpose ; it appears, that this *hard Question of Right to the Crown*, was not between the Parties themselves in one or the other of whom you confess the *Right* was. It appears, that your infallible Judge of Controversies very easily and impartially resolv'd it, by denying both sides of the *Question*, and assuming the whole *Right* to himself. It appears, that your Catholics, who are said to have sided with one against the other, did in Truth side with the Pope against them both. And lastly it appears, that their *Misdemeanors* were inexcusable Treasons, if any Treason can be inexcusable, that is befriended with such an Apologist.

'Twas for the Royal House of Scotland that they suffered in those Days ; and 'tis for the same illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any Occasion.

Sir, we have found you notoriously False in that which you affirm : pray God you prove true in that which you promise.

Nor

Nor can the Consequence of the former Procedure be but ill, if a Henry VIII. (whom Sir W. Raleigh, and my Lord Cherbury, two famous Protestants, have so homely characteriz'd) should after twenty Years Cohabitation turn away his Wife, and this out of Scruple of Conscience (as he said) when-as History declares, that he never spared Woman in his Lust, nor Man in his Fury.

This Character would better agree with many a Head of a Church whom we could name you, than with Henry VIII. of whom better ^s Historians speak better things. But if he were such a Monster as you would make him, perhaps it was for want of a better Religion, for he was ^t perfectly of yours, except only in the Point of Supremacy. And you had no Occasion for this Flurt at him; unless that, having undertaken to put the best Colours upon Treason, you might think you did something towards it in bespattering of Kings.

We have a Touch of the same Art in the next Paragraph. Where, having undertaken to excuse the Gun-Powder-Treason, you call it first a *Misdemeanor*, then the *Fifth of November*, and then a *Conjuration*. Soft Words all of them: but you deal wicked hardly with *the great Minister of State*, whom you make to have been the Author of it; as if the Traitors had not conspired against the State, but the State against them.

But before we come to answer this, it will be needful to set down the Story, as it appears

^s *Vide Thu. Hist. l. i. et v. Thu. ib.*

^t *Philopater, p. 308 and 323.*

out of the Examinations and Confessions of the Traitors themselves.

The Rise of this Treason, was from the before mentioned *Breves* of Pope *Clement VIII.* in which he required all his Catholics, that, *after the Death of that wretched Woman Queen Elizabeth*, they should admit none but a Catholic to reign over them. These *Breves* were by *Garnet*, the Provincial of the Jesuits, communicated to *Catesby* and others; who, in Obedience, thought best to begin their Practices in her Life-time. So they sent Father *Tesmund* and *Winter* into *Spain*, to crave the Assistance of that Crown. The *Spaniard* sent them back with the Promise of an Army. But soon after *Queen Elizabeth* died, and no Army came. Therefore again they sent *Christopher Wright* into *Spain* to hasten it; and *Stanley* out of *Flanders* sent *Fawks* thither upon the same Errand; who finding the Counsels of *Spain* at this time wholly enclined to Peace, returned quickly back, and brought nothing but Despair along with them.

Yet the *Breves* had so wrought upon *Catesby*, that he could not find in his Heart to give over; but still casting about for Ways, he hit upon this of the Powder-Treason, which, as being much out of the common Road, he thought the most secure for his Purpose. He communicated this to *Winter*, who approved it, and fetch'd *Fawks* out of *Flanders* to assist in it. Not long after, *Piercy* being in their Company, and offering himself to any Service for the Catholic Cause, though it were even the King's Death; *Catesby* told him, that that was too poor an Adventure for him: but, saith he,
if

if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a *Plot of greater Advantage, and such a one as can never be discovered*. Thus having duly prepar'd him, he took him into the Conspiracy. And the like he did with so many more as made up their Number thirteen of the Laity.

But where were the *Jesuites* all the while ? Not idle, you may be sure. The Provincial *Garnet* was privy to it from the Beginning, so were divers^v more of the Society. Infomuch, that when *Watson* endeavour'd to have drawn them into his Plot (for the setting up of the Lady *Arbella's* Title, in Opposition to King *James's*) they declin'd it, ^x saying, *They had another of their own then afoot, and that they would not mingle Designs with him for fear of hindering one another*.

But *Watson* miscarried with his Plot, and the *Jesuits* went on with theirs. They absolv'd the Conspirators of the Guilt, and extenuated the Danger of their Design; they perswaded them how highly beneficial it would be in the Consequences of it; they gave them their Oath, by the Holy Trinity, and the Sacrament which they did then receive, that none of them should reveal it to any other, or withdraw himself from it without common Consent: and for the pitiful Scruple of destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, *Garnet* answered, they might lawfully do it, in order to a greater Good. Yet it seems there was a Spark of Humanity in some of them, which the Divinity of this Casuist had not quite extinguished; as appear-

^v *Baldwin, Hammond, Tesmund, and Gerard*, were nam-
ed by the Conspirators, as privy with them. ^x *Vide*,
Watson's Confession.

ed, either by the absenting of some Lords that were afterward fined for it in the Star-Chamber, or certainly by that Letter of Warning to my Lord *Monteagle*, which was the happy Occasion of the Discovery of the whole Treason.

In *Warwickshire*, where the Princess *Elizabeth* then was, they had appointed a Meeting, under the Pretence of a Hunting-Match, to seize upon her, the same Day in which the King and his Male Issue were to have been destroyed. There met about fourscore of them, which was a Number sufficient for that Business. But the News of the Discovery coming among them, they were so dismayed at it, that they desisted from their Enterprize, and fled into *Staffordshire*; where, the Country being raised against them, they were some of them kill'd, and the rest taken; and those which were left alive of the prime Conspirators were sent up to *London*, and there executed.

This is the plain Story, now let us see how you colour it.

Now for the Fifth of November; with Hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest.

What is it that you *abominate and detest*? That Day which is the Festival of our Deliverance? we can believe you without *your Hands lifted up to Heaven*. Or mean you the Treason which was to have been acted upon that Day? why then do you not speak out and call it so? For if you cannot afford to call it Treason, it is not the *lifting up of your Hands* that can make us believe you do heartily *abominate and detest it*.

And

And from the bottom of our Hearts say, that may they fall into irrecoverable Perdition, who propagate that Faith by the Blood of Kings, which is to be planted in Truth and Meekness only.

It was a good Caution of a Philosopher to the Son of a common Woman, that he should not throw Stones among a Multitude, for fear of hitting his Father. You might have had that Caution when you threw out this Curse; for your Father the Pope stands fairest for it of all Men that we know in the World.

But let it not displease you, Men, Brethren, and Fathers, if we ask Whether Ulysses be no better known? or Wha hath forgot the Plots Cromwell framed in his Closet; not-only to destroy many faithful Cavaliers, but also to put a Lustre upon his Intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his Knowledge? Even so did the then great Minister, who drew some few Desperadoes into this Conjuraton, and then discovered it by a Miracle.

Having spit and wip'd your Mouth, now you make your Speech. And it begins with a Mixture of *Apostle* and *Poet*, to shew what we are to expect from you; namely, with much Gravity, much Fiction: and so far you do not go about to deceive us.

The Scope of your Speech is to make the World believe that your Catholics were drawn into this Plot by Secretary *Cecil*. You are so wise, that you do not offer to prove this; but you would steal it into us by an Example, that we are concerned in. As *Cromwell* trepann'd many faithful Cavaliers, even so *Cecil* drew in some few Desperadoes. Comparisons (they say) are odious: but to the Business. First,

First, admitting your Fiction, as if it were true, that *Cecil* did draw in those Wretches into this Treason: was it ever the less Treason, because he *drew* them into it? For, according to your own Supposition, they did not know that they were drawn in by him. But they verily thought that they had followed their own Guides; and they zealously did according to their own Principles. They did what they would have done, if there had been no *Cecil* in the World; provided there had been a Devil in his Room, to have put it into their Heads. For your Excuse only implies, that they had not the Wit to invent it: but their Progress in it shews, that they wanted not the Malice to have executed it. So that, according to your own Illustration: as those faithful *Cavaliers*, whom *Cromwell* drew in, had their Loyalty abused, and were nevertheless faithful still; so those Powder Traitors, whom you say *Cecil* drew in, had their Disloyalty outwitted, and were nevertheless Traitors still. For as well in the one Case as in the other, this very thing, that they could be drawn in, is a clear Demonstration that they were before-hand sufficiently disposed for it.

Secondly, when you have considered the Absurdity of your Excuse for your Friends, you may do well to think of an Excuse for yourself. For that which you affirm of *Cecil's* having drawn them into this Plot, is a very groundless and impudent Fiction, and you are properly the *Author* of it. For though others perhaps may have spoken this in Raillery; yet you are the *first*,

[7 Five Years before, in the *Calendarium Catholicum* 1662, the Gunpowder Treason is called *Cecil's Contrivance*. See Bp. *Barlow's* Popish Principles, etc. p. 2. A. D. 1679. Bp. *Kennet's* Sermon, Nov. 5, 1728. p. 28.

that

that we know of, that *has asserted it in Print.*

Pray, Sir, whence had you this Tale? by what Tradition did you receive it? or had you some new Revelation of the Causes threescore Years after the Fact? for 'tis plain, that King *James*^z knew nothing of it. *Bellarmino*, and his fellow *Apologists* in that Age, never pretended it. The Parties themselves, neither at their Trial, nor at their Execution, gave any Intimation of it. Can you tell us which of the Conspirators were *Cecil's* Instruments to draw in the rest? or can you think he was so great an Artist, that he could persuade his Setters to be hang'd, that his Art might not be suspected? for 'tis well known that he sav'd not any of those Wretches from suffering. And they which did suffer, charged none other but themselves in their Confessions: particularly *Father Garnet* said^a, before *Dr. Overal*, and divers others, that *he would give all the World, if it were his, to clear his Conscience, or his Name from that Treason.*

These are strong Presumptions of the Negative; but you ought to have proved your Affirmative, or at least to have offered something toward it. For if barely to say this be enough, then here is an Excuse indifferently calculated for all Treasons in the World that miscarry: (and if they prosper, who dares call them Treasons?) here is a never failing Topic for any one that would write an *Apology* in behalf of any Villany whatsoever. For if the Traitors be dis-

^z *V.* his Speech in Parliament 1605, and his Relation, etc. *Warmington*, p. 7. saith, *None were therein culpable, but only Jesuits and Catholics.* ^a *Casaub.* Epist. ad Front. Ducæum.

covered by any kind of Accident, this will always remain to be said for them, that *the then great Minister drew them in.*

But why did you not say this for those Conspiracies in Queen *Elizabeth's* Days? you might have said it perhaps with less Improbability. But then had you a higher Game to fly at, namely the *Queen's* Title to her Crown; and if you durst have made so bold with King *James's*, you would not have stooped at so low a Quarry as a *Minister* of State.

But by the way we cannot but acknowledge, that you Jesuits are a sort of most obliging Gentlemen. If Men will believe what you say, nothing that you do can fall amiss. In your Attempts against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, you obliged his Majesty that now is, as being Martyrs for the *Royal House* of Scotland. And in your Plot to blow up that Royal House, you were a kind of Fellow-Sufferers with *the faithful Cavaliers*; for as they us'd to be trepann'd by *Cromwell*, even so you were drawn in by Secretary *Cecil*.

It is worth observing in this Paragraph, how you diminish that hellish Plot, by calling them that were engag'd in it a *few Desperadoes*.

The *Fewness* of them will be considered in your next.

But in what Sense do you call them *Desperadoes*? Were they such in respect of their Fortunes? that is so well known to be false, that it needs no Answer. Were they such in respect of their Discontents? that seems to be your Meaning. But there was little Reason for any. For at the time of this Conspiracy, there was none of your Priests in Prison, there was no

Mulet

Mulſt taken of any Layman, *Nor was there a Man of them*, as King James ſaid ^b, *that could alledge any pretended Cauſe of Grief*. And yet they were continually reſtleſs, as we have ſhewn you in their Story. Was it becauſe they had not all the Liberty they would have had? this is ſo far from excuſing Them, that it rather gives us occaſion of ſuſpecting You.

'Tis no Wonder that you, who cannot afford to call this Conſpiracy a Treason, are not willing to allow the *Discovery* of it a *Miracle*. Yet you might have forborn Scoffing at it, in reſpect to King ^c James, who was pleas'd to name it ſo. Eſpecially when his Adverſary *Bellarmino* ^d acknowledges that it was *not without a Miracle of Divine Providence*. And ſure our King makes a better uſe of this Wôrd *Miracle* in the thankful Acknowledgement of God's great Mercy in his Deliverance, than your Pope ^e *Sixtus V.* did in his inſolent Oration upon the King of *France's* Murder; by which we may gueſs what ſome body would have called this Plot, if it had ſped.

This will eaſily appear, viz. how little the Catholic Party underſtood the Deſign, ſeeing there was not a Score of Guilty found, though all imaginable Industry was uſed by the Commons, Lords, and Privy Council too.

The *Deſign* itſelf was underſtood but by few, becauſe it was neither ſafe nor needful to impart it to many. But the *Papiſts* generally knew that there was a Deſign in hand; and though they did not know the horrid Nature of it,

^b King James's Speech in Parliament 1605.

^d *Tortus*, p. 85. Edit. Colon.

^e *Sixti Orat.*

^c *Ib.*

yet many of them pray'd for the Success of it : and if the Plot had taken effect, and the Hunting Match had gone on, we should then have been better able to have judg'd how your *Catholic Party* stood affected toward it. Sure enough though there were but a ^f Score in the Treason, yet there appear'd fourscore in the Rebellion : and it cannot be imagin'd, that so small a Number could expect, without any other Assistance, to have made any great Advantage by surprizing the Lady *Elizabeth*. But when the Treason had miscarried, as hateful as it was, (for who does not hate Treason when it is unsuccessful?) yet many of you had a high Veneration for some of those Wretches that were deeply engaged in it. What a Coil here was about the Miracle of Father *Garnet's* Straw ? and perhaps you have seen his Picture, and *Gerard's* too among the ^g Martyrs of your Society. Nay his Holiness himself shew'd his good Will to them, when, after all this, he made *Tesmund* Penitentiary at *St. Peter's* in *Rome*.

But suppose, my Lords and Gentlemen, (which never can be granted) that all the Papists of that Age were consenting, will you be so severe then to still punish the Children for the Father's Faults ?

Nay such Children that so unanimously joined with you in that glorious Quarrel, when you and we underwent such Sufferings, that needs we must have all sunk, had not our mutual Love assisted.

^f Five Jesuits, thirteen Laymen, besides *Owen* and *Stanley*. ^g At *La Fletche*, and elsewhere.

You *suppose* that which is false, to avoid that which is true, For who ever said, that *All the Papists of that Age were consenting* to the Gunpowder Treason? or who can deny that some Papists in this Age retain the Principles of them that were consenting to it? who, altho' they are not to be *punish'd* for what their Predecessors did; yet they ought to be so restrained, that they may not do like their Predecessors.

And though by that long Word *unanimously*, you endeavour to shuffle in the Men of these Principles, amongst them that served his Majesty in *that glorious Quarrel*; yet we think it no hard Matter to distinguish them. For those among you which did the King Service, are not so many but that they may be numbered. And as for the rest of you, which only *suffer'd* with us, we thank you for your *Love*, but not for your *Assistance*. For we could not well have *sunk* lower than we did. But some of you floated the while like Cork; and others of you swam upon the Bladders of Dispensations. So that as we received no help from you in your Swimming; so we can apprehend no Assurance of you by your *Sufferings*.

What have we done that we should now deserve your Anger? has the Indiscretion of some few incensed you; 'tis true, that is the thing objected.

Sir, our *Anger* is only a necessary Care, that what you now call your *Indiscretions*, may not grow to be such as you lately called your *Misdemeanors*.

Da

Do not you know an Enemy may mistake a Mass Bell for that which calls to Dinner?

We know he may upon a Fast Day; for then you use to ring your Vesper Bell before Dinner^h. And how can a simple Heretic tell; whether it *calls* you to pray, or to eat Fish? but we do not know that ever any of you was brought in Trouble about this Question.

Or a Sequestrator be glad to be affronted being Constable? when 'twas the hatred to his Person, and not present Office, which perchance egg'd a rash Man to Folly.

[^h The Application of the Word noon for Mid-day, has been supposed to arise from some such Practice. "The Monks by their Rules could not eat their Dinner till they had said their *Noon Song*, which was a Service regularly to be said at Three a Clock: [and that time of Day was called *Hora Nonæ*, according to the *Roman* and Scripture Language.] But they probably anticipated their Devotions and their Dinner, by saying their *Noon Song* immediately after their *Mid day Song*, and presently falling on. I wish they had never been guilty of a worse Fraud than this—When *Mid-day* became the Time of Dining and saying *Noon Song*, it was for that Reason called *Noon* by the Monks, who were Masters of Language, during the dark Ages. In the Shepherd's Almanack *Noon* is *Mid-day*, *High Noon*, *Three*." Mr. *Johnson* in his *Collect. of Eccles. Laws*, DCCCLVIII. 5.—And yet, methinks, we need not the Authority of the Church for the Alteration of Dinner-time. The *Romans* began their greatest Meal about *Three*.

Imperat extructos frangere NONA toros. Martial iv. 8.

and see *Juven. Sat.* i. 49. We who are under a colder Climate, and were once less refined, dined probably about *Twelve*; and learnt from them to call our Dinner-time *NONA* or *NOON*, though it was at an earlier Hour. The Distinction of the Hours of Prayer was made according to the *Roman* Division of the Day; and the *NOON* Prayer was to be said before Dinner, whether it was *Twelve* or *Three*. The Church, I imagine, conformed to National Custom, not National Custom to the Church.]

Possibly he may be *glad* of it. For it was your Jesuitical Distinction between *Person* and *Office*, that first helped him to be a *Sequestrator*. And now he sees that Distinction come in play ; he may hope, within a while, to have his Place again.

We dare, with Submission, say, Let a public Invitation be put up against any Party whatsoever, nay, against the Reverend Bishops themselves, and some malicious Informer, or other, will alledge, that which may be far better to conceal.

Yet all Mankind by a Manifesto on the House Door are encouraged to accuse us ; nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.

What an Ambush you have laid here for the *Bishops* ! to have them thought *Popish*, because you *Reverence* them, and *Obnoxious*, in such Matters, as, you say, it *may be far better to conceal*. But as in the one, your Kindness to them is sufficiently understood ; so they are able to defie your *Malice* in the other. 'Tis for a Bishop of *Donna Olympia's* ⁱ to need *Concealment*. Our Bishops in *England* are of another make, than to hold their Credit at any one's Courtesy.

For the *Manifesto* that troubled you, what could the Parliament do less, when the Complaints of you were great in all Parts of the Nation, than to *invite* Men to bring their Grievances to the proper Place of Redress ? But then say you, Men were not *upon Oath*, for what they said against you. What a *Hardship* was

ⁱ *Vide*, Her Life, p. 61. and p. 156, 157.

this ?

this, that the *House of Commons* would not do that for your sakes, which no *House of Commons* ever did upon any Occasion?

It cannot be imagined where there's so many Men of Heat and Youth, (overjoyed with the happy Restauration of their Prince) and remembering the Insolencies of their Grandees, that they should all at all times prudently carry themselves; for this would be to be more than Men. And truly we esteem it as a particular Blessing, that God hath not suffered many through Vanity or Frailty to fall into greater Faults, than are yet, as we understand, laid to our Charge.

The King will never be out of your Debt, if a Jesuit may but keep the reckoning. Your old Treasons you put upon the Account of his Family and Friends, and your late Insolencies upon the Score of his most *happy Restauration*; but would you seriously persuade us, that, at six Years Distance, *so many Men of Heat and Youth* were still transported with the Joy of that Blessing? That there were some fresher Causes of this Jollity, has been vehemently suspected by many, who considered the great Unseasonableness of it, in so calamitous a time, while the Fire was raging in our Metropolis, and a *French Army* lay hovering upon our Coasts.

Can we chuse but be dismay'd (when all things fail) that extravagant Crimes are fathered upon us?

It is we must be the Authors (some say) of firing the City, even we that have lost so vastly by it: yet in this our Ingenuity is great, since we think it no Plot, though our Enemy an Hugonot Protestant acknowledged the Fact, and was

was justly executed for his vain Confession. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of England buy Knives for the Business of his Trade; this also is a Papist Contrivance to destroy the well affected.

There can be nothing charged on you, more *extravagant* than those things were, which your Predecessors committed, and which here you have taken upon you to justify or excuse. The particulars of your Charge, whatsoever they are, we leave to the Consideration of the Parliament, where we heartily wish there may appear more Reason on your Side, than there is to be found in this *Apology*. For as to the *Firing of the City*, if, according to your Words (which we have not hitherto found to be Gospel) *you have lost so vastly by it*; yet that will not acquit you from the Suspicion of the Fact, in the Judgment of any one that considers the Determination of your late *Provincial* ^k, *viz.* that it is lawful to destroy the Innocent with the Guilty, in order to a greater good. And it seems this *vast Loss* goes not near your Heart; one would think so by your Pleasantness in the very next Passage. For there you call *Hubert your Enemy*, and a *Hugonot Protestant*, which *Hubert*, after Father *Harvey* had had him at Confession, did indeed affirm himself to be a *Protestant*; but then being ask'd whether he meant a *Hugonot* (which it seems was beyond his Instruction to say) he earnestly denied that, as he very well might, for he then also declared, that he believed Confession to a Priest was ne-

^k *Garnet*, in the Case of the Powder Plot.

cessary to his Salvation, and being admonished to call upon God he repeated an *Ave Mary*, which he said was his usual Prayer. So that it evidently appears, he was neither *Hugonot*, nor *Protestant*, nor your *Enemy* upon any Account of Religion. And yet you, being about to avouch this Knot of Falshoods, are pleased to usher them in with this Preface, (either in Praise of your Brother *Harvey's* pious Fraud, or of your own proper Virtue) *Truly in this, our Ingenuity is great* ¹.

We must a little complain, finding it by Experience, that by reason you discountenance us, the People rage; and again, because they rage we are the more forsaken by you.

Affured we are, that our Conversation is affable, and our Houses so many hospitable Receipts to our Neighbours. Our Acquaintance therefore we fear at no time; but it is the Stranger we dread: that (taking all on hear-say) zealously Wounds, and then examines the Business when it is too late, or is perchance confirmed by another, that knows no more of us than he himself.

[¹ It is observable the Author is silent as to that Story which Bp. Burnet has since told us he had from him, viz. That *Grant*, a Papist, being a Member of the New River Company, had the *Saturday* before turned off the Water from coming to *London*: so that when the Fire broke out next Morning, there was no Water in the Pipes. Hist. p. 237. It has been since asserted from the Books of the New River Company, that *Capt. John Grant* was not admitted a Member of that Company till Tuesday, Sept. 25. 1666, and that no particular Member has Power to order the Main to be shut down, nor can it ever be done without a particular Direction of the Board.]

'Tis

'Tis to you we must make our Applications, beseeching you (as Subjects tender of our King) to intercede for us in the Execution, and weigh the Dilemma, which doubtless he is in, either to deny so good a Parliament their Requests, or else run counter to his Royal Inclinations, when he punishes the weak and harmless.

He that complains without Cause, must be heard without Redress.

We only desire to be safe from those Dangers, to which your Principles would expose us, and against which neither *Affableness* nor *Hospitality* will secure us. The Protestants of *Ireland* were never so treated and caressed by their Popish Neighbours, as they were the very Year before they cut their Throats.

The best Means of our Security, is, that which his Majesty has been pleased to require, viz. The discreet Execution of his Laws. By which (if others shall please to distinguish themselves from the rest by renouncing their disloyal Principles) only the Disloyal and Seditious will be kept weak, that they may be harmless.

Why may we not, noble Countrymen, hope for Favour from you, as well as French Protestants find from theirs? A greater Duty than ours none can express, we are sure; or why should the United Provinces, and other Magistrates (that are harsh both in Mind and Manners) refrain from Violence against our Religion, and your tender Breasts seem not to harbour the least Compassion or Pity?

These barbarous People sequester none for their Faith, but for Transgression against the State. Nor is the whole Party involved in the Crime of a few, but every Man suffers for his own and proper Fault. Do you then the like, and he that offends, let him dye without Mercy :

And think always, I beseech you, of Cromwell's Injustice : who, for the Actions of some against his pretended Laws, drew Thousands into Decimation, even ignorant of the thing, after they had vastly paid for their Security and Quiet.

We have answer'd your Instances, of the *French Protestants*, and the *Dutch Papists* ; and your unjust upbraiding us, with the *Greatness of your Duty*, and with our *Want of Compassion and Pity*. And yet, as if all these were unanswerable, you come over with them again and again.

These barbarous People, you say, *sequester none for their Faith* ; but pray what did you, when you govern'd the *civiliz'd World* ? You hang'd and burn'd Men, for no other Cause but their Faith ; and this you did with abundance of Civility ; so it seems We may be worse than *barbarous*, and yet much better than You.

But that were little for our Credit, unless we had this to say more ; that not the worst of you *suffers* any otherwise than by known Laws, or any more than is of pure Necessity. For, we hold it necessary to maintain the Authority of the King, and the Peace of the Nation. If you call any thing *Religion*, that is
contrary

contrary to these ; must We therefore alter our Laws ? or ought You to mend your Religion ?

You put the Effigies of *Cromwel* upon any thing that you would render odious ; as your Inquisition bedresses one with Pictures of Devils, whom they are about to burn for his Religion : For such Disguises are apt to work much upon the weak Judgments of the Multitude. But he must be very weak indeed that cannot perceive the wide Difference, between the Edicts of *Cromwel*, that were design'd to ruin Men for their Loyalty, and those Laws that our Princes have made to restrain them from Treason and Rebellion.

We have no other Study, but the Glory of our Sovereign, and just Liberty of the Subjects.

Sir, if we may judge by your Works, there is *nothing* less studied in your College.

Nor was it a mean Argument of our Duty, when every Catholic Lord gave his Voice for the Restoration of Bishops, by which we could pretend no other Advantage, but that xxvi Votes (subsisting wholly by the Crown) were added to the Defence of Kingship, and consequently a Check to all Anarchy and Confusion.

This is no *Argument* of your *Duty*, for, sure, You are no *Lord*. Nor is it likely that these Lords follow'd your Direction in the doing of this *Duty*.

'Tis

'Tis morally impossible, but that we, who approve of Monarchy in the Church, must ever be fond of it in the State also.

If you mean this of Papists in general, that which you call *morally impossible* is experimentally true. For in *Venice, Genoa, Lucca*, and the Popish Cantons of *Switzerland*, where they very well approve of *Monarchy in the Church*; yet they are not *fond of it in the State also*. But if you mean this of the Jesuitical Party, then it may be true in this Sense, that you would have the Pope to be sole Monarch both in *Spirituals and Temporals*.

Yet this is a Misfortune, we now plainly feel, that the longer the late Transgressors live, the more forgotten are their Crimes, whiles Distance in Time calls the Faults of our Fathers to Remembrance, and buries our own Allegiance in eternal Oblivion and Forgetfulness.

We can now allow you to complain, and commend yourselves without Measure; having prov'd already, that you do it without Cause.

My Lords and Gentlemen, consider, we beseech you, the sad Condition of the Irish Soldiers now in England; the worst of which Nation could be but intentionally so wicked, as the acted Villany of many English, whom your admired Clemency pardoned. Remember how they left the Spanish Service when they heard their King was in France; and how they forsook the Employment of that
unnatural

unnatural Prince, after he had committed the never to be forgotten Act of banishing his distressed Kinsman out of his Dominions. These poor Men left all again to bring their Monarch to his Home: and shall they then be forgotten by you? or shall my Lord Douglas and his brave Scots be left to their Shifts, who scorned to receive Wages of those who have declared War against England?

To swell up the Bill of the Merits of your Party, you take in the Services of the *Irish* and *Scottish Soldiers*, as if they were a Part of the *English Catholics*, whom you profess to plead for in the Title of your *Apology*. And that you may seem to have done this, in Kindness to them, and not to yourselves; you exhort us to *consider* them, in such terms, as if you were the first that had ever thought of them. God forbid but they should be consider'd as they deserve; and he is neither good Christian, nor good Subject, that would grudge to contribute his Proportion toward it.

But you seem to have a farther Drift in the mentioning of these loyal *Irish*. For you immediately mingle them with the *worst of that Nation*; namely, with those infamous Butchers, that in Times of as great Peace and Liberty as ever that Nation enjoyed, and in the Name of that gracious King under whom they enjoyed these, cut the Throats of above an hundred thousand of his Protestant Subjects of all Sexes and Ages^a. It was so black a Villany,

^a Lord Orory's Answer to *Welsh*, p. 29. saith, Within few Months about two hundred thousand.

that

that you, the Apologist of such Actions, knew not how to mention it in its proper Place, viz. after the *French* Massacre, because you had not wherewith to colour it. And yet being conscious to yourself that this lay as a Blot upon your Cause, you thought fit to place it among these brave Men; as if their Names would mend the Hue of an Action that will make the Names of all that had to do in it, look black, and detestable to Mankind, throughout all Generations.

Nor do you deal much better with our Royalists themselves; of whom you do not stick to affirm, that in their *admired* Clemency, (and if this were true, who would not *admire* it?) they *pardon'd* many *English*, whose *acted Villanies* were so wicked, that the *worst of the Irish Nation could be but Intentionally so wicked in their Villanies.*

How commonly is it said that the Oath of renouncing their Religion is intended for these? which will needs bring this Loss to the King and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience of great Integrity and Worth) or else, if some few you retain, they are such whom Necessity hath made to swear against Conscience, and who therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater Advantage shall be offered. By this Test then you can have none, but whom (with Caution) you ought to shun. And thus must you drive away those who truly would serve you; for had they the least Thought of being false, they would gladly take the Advantage of Gain, and pay to deceive you.

You

You proceed, concerning the *Irish and Scottish Soldiers*, in these Words ; *How commonly is it said, that the Oath of renouncing their Religion is intended for them ?* Pray, Sir, can you tell who are *said to intend this ?* For if they are such as have no Authority, it is frivolous : If they are such as have Authority, it is false. And we do verily believe it was never *said*, wished, or thought of, by any one that lov'd the King, and the Peace of the Nation.

But what Trick had this Jesuit in his Head when he fram'd this ? One may guess at his Design : But let it pass. Perhaps he only imagined this, to heighten his Fancy, that he might think and write the more tragically toward the End of his Oration.

We know your Wisdom and Generosity, and therefore cannot imagine such a thing ; nor do we doubt, when you shew Favour unto these, but you will use Mercy to us, who are both your Fellow Subjects, and your own Flesh and Blood also : If you forsake us, we must say the World decays, and its final Transmutation must needs follow quickly.

Here you un-imagine for the Soldiers, and imagine for yourself : and, as if you really thought yourself in Danger, you beg for *Mercy* of the Royalists, in such Words as your Predecessor^b us'd to the Rebels. Only for the last Strain, we do not know that any one hit upon it before,

^b First Moderator, p. 76. *Your own Kindred and Allies, your own Countrymen, born to the same Freedom with yourselves ; who have in much less measure (than the Scots) offended in Matters of Hostility, nay, divers of them not at all.*

nor do believe that any one will ever use it again.

Little do you think the Insolencies we shall suffer by Committee-men, &c. whom Chance and Lot hath put into petty Power. Nor will it chuse but grieve you to see them abused (whom formerly you loved, even by the common Enemies of us both.

It seems *Committee-men* are entrusted with his Majesty's Authority; or that none must use it against Papists for fear of being accounted *Committee-men*.

It is time to have done, when we are come to the Dregs of your Rhetorick.

When they punish, how will they triumph, and say, Take this (poor Romanists) for your Love to Kingship; and again This, for your long doting on the Royal Party: all which you shall receive from us commissioned by your dearest Friends, and under this Cloak we will gladly vent our private Spleen and Malice.

Sir, though you set yourself before to speak tragically, this does rather seem a Piece of Drollery. But you have your Design either way: For no Man can read it, but he must either laugh, or shake his Head.

We know, my Lords and Gentlemen, that from your Hearts you deplore our Condition, yet permit us to tell you, your Bravery must extend thus far, as not to sit still, with Pity only, but each is to labour for the Distressed as far as in reality his Ability will reach: Some must beseech

beseech our gracious Sovereign for us, others again must undeceive the good, though deluded Multitude: therefore all are to remember who are the prime Raisers of the Storm; and how, through our Sides, they would wound both the King and you: for though their Hatred to us ourselves is great, yet the Enmity out of all measure increases, because we have been yours, and so shall continue even in the fiery Day of Trial.

Protect us, we beseech you then, upon all your former Promises, or, if that be not sufficient, for the Sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen asleep: But if this be still too weak, we must conjure you, by the Sight of this bloody Catalogue, which contains the Names of your murdered Friends and Relations, who in the Heat of the Battle perchance saved many of your Lives, even with the joyful Loss of their own.

Sir, in answer to this Paragraph, you oblige us to speak plainer, what before we only intimated to you.

It was the Policy of the Rebels, in the beginning of the late War, to harraßs the *Papists* in all Parts of the Kingdom. One Reason of it was to make his Majesty odious; for the *Papists* being his Subjects, and having none but him to fly to, it was certain he would do what he could to protect them; and this would make many zealous People believe, that what the Rebels pretended was true, viz. that his Majesty was a Friend to Popery. Another Reason was to enrich themselves with their

Spoils, and to invite the needy Rabble with a Prospect of Booty ; among which, if they found a String of Beads, or a Crucifix, it serv'd them upon both Accounts, both to fill their Pockets, and to justify the Cause ^c.

By this means you were driven into his Majesty's Garrisons, where, besides those that voluntarily offer'd themselves to his Service, many of you were necessitated to it for a Subsistence, and many more of you did not serve him at all, but only shrowded yourselves under his Protection. Whereas the Protestant Royalists had no such Necessity, for they might have been welcome to the Rebels, to do as They did ; or they might have been permitted to live quietly at their home. But they chose to do otherwise, and were hated the more for it by the Rebels, because they preferr'd their Duty before those Considerations.

From this Account of the Motives that brought us together, it is easy to judge how far we are in Debt to one another.

First, As for them which *lost their Estates* with us, We remember those things were alledged in their Defence, ^d which we would have been loth to have admitted in ours. But possibly it was not their Fault that these things were alledg'd, nor was it to our Advantage that they were not accepted. For the Rebels, having devour'd these Gentlemens Estates, fell to ours,

^c Second Moderator, p. 43. *Most of them in the beginning of the late War (seeing themselves unprotected by the Parliament, and exposed to the Plunder of the then Soldiery) fled into the King's Garrisons, to save their own Lives, without taking up Arms to offend others.*

^d Second Moderator, p. 43.

with

with the more Colour, and never the less Appetite.

In your Catalogue of those *Papists* which were slain in the Service, you have omitted some Names which we are able to reckon. But perhaps you did this in Design, that you might the more excusably reckon some Names that you ought to have omitted. So you begin with my Lord of *Carnarvon*, the only Nobleman in your Catalogue, who was indeed too negligent of his Religion, till he came to be in view of Death; but then, in his Extremities, he refus'd a Priest of yours, and ordered the Chaplain * of his Regiment to pray with him. If you take this Liberty of stealing Martyrs, we have Reason to wonder, that you had not taken in one that would have adorn'd your Cause indeed, *viz.* his Majesty himself, since *Militiere* † was not ashamed to publish, that that blessed and glorious Prince died of your Religion. Him alone we might weigh against All that ever was good in your Church. But besides, we could reckon you a far greater Number of Protestants, than you pretend to do of *Papists*, that *lost their Lives also in the Day of Battle*. They lost them joyfully, in hopes to have sav'd his Majesty's Life; and 'twas an Accession to their Joy, *if perchance they sav'd any of yours*.

But did they ever intend their Sufferings should go for nothing, or become Cyphers to yours in the Day of Reckoning? or that their Blood should be made use of to stop the Execution of those Laws for which they shed it? Did

* Mr. Langford.

† In his Victory of Truth.

they

they think your *Condition* was so *deplorable*, or their own was superfluously fenced and secured against you before the late Troubles ?

Pray, Sir, do not persuade us to believe a thing so incredible, or to do at the Rate as if we did believe it. Rather, if you have such an Opinion of your own Faculty, try what you can do with your own Party, and persuade them to do what is fittest and best for themselves.

But because the Genius of your Writing does not give us any such Hopes of you, we shall rather make bold to say something from our selves, by way of Advice, to as many of them as may happen to need it, and are capable to receive it.

We desire them to content themselves with that Condition which they enjoy'd under his Majesty's Royal Predecessors ; and neither to disparage those Days, by endeavouring to persuade the World that they which suffered then for Treason died for Religion ; nor to undervalue all the Liberties which they now enjoy, if they may not be allow'd to exceed the Measures of their Fathers. We wish they would not, for the paring of their Nails, make all *Christendom* ring with Cries of Persecution. We wish them deeply to lay to Heart, the Honour, and Peace, and Welfare of their Nation^ε ; to abhor him, that could wish to see it in Troubles, in hope that at next Turn it would settle in *Prosperity* ; or that could find in his Heart to bid a Foreigner welcome upon the Terms of restoring

^ε D. of *Medina* in — 88. said, his Sword knew no Distinction between Catholick and Heretick.

Catholic Religion. We desire them to keep their Religion to themselves, and not lay about them, as some do, to make Profelytes; of which, they have had a plentiful Harvest in the late Confusions; and if they should think to go on at that Rate, we have Reason to fear it would be a Means to bring us into Confusion again. We desire them at least not to abuse the Weakness of dying Persons; nor, under Pretence of carrying Alms to condemned Prisoners, to convert some of them with Drink, and to cheat others with Hopes of Salvation upon easier Terms than ever God yet declar'd unto Men. We desire them not to hinder the Course of Justice, by interposing in the Behalf of any Criminal, because he is a Catholic. We desire them to content themselves, as their Fathers have done, with such Priests as are known and protected^h by the Civil Power; and that they would be pleas'd to demean themselves as Priests ought to do, not disguising themselves like Hectors, or mingling with Gentlemen, to poyson the Clubs and Coffee-Houses with Fanatic Discourses, or even with Atheism itself, to destroy all Religion that they may have their Will upon ours. We desire them not to fill the World with their Pamphlets, *Parallels*, *Philanaxes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c. which tend only to the fermenting of Mens Passions, not at all to the Conviction of their Reason. If they please to come into the fair Field of Controversy, we shall not decline them; and we think we are not in Debt

^h V. Camden's Eliz. 1602.

to them upon that Account. But for Books of the other sort, which are apt only to inflame Parties, and make the People jealous, and the Government uneasy, we wish they would spare their own Pains, and consequently ours. If they will not, let them bear their own Blame, and let them answer it to the World, what Occasion they had to give us this Trouble of answering them.

F I N I S.

[N. B. In the Title the Names both of the *Apologist* and *Answerer* are now first added ; the former upon the Authority of the Complete Hist. of *England*, Vol. III. p. 286. n. c. and some Notes are inserted throughout, included in Hooks. Amongst which p. 35. n. a. read, The Popish Peers from the *English* Parl. first by an Act 1678. afterwards by another 1701.]

Speedily will be published,

*The rest of this AUTHOR'S Tracts on POPERY,
not printed in the Lord Bishop of London's
Collection in Fol.*